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that Yankees had done the same for the town, *i.e.*, through a church that would appeal to Poles. This was undertaken and the native residents joined in and contributed to the project. When the Poles had an equally representative and suitable organization for participating in the town's affairs, and were made welcome to do so, the Poles accepted their part in the community's business, civic, social and patriotic activities. By discovery of an organization that could be an equal and natural partner with others that functioned for common welfare this town has been saved from the paralysis and deterioration of similar villages where no common unit of solidarity and coöperation has been operating.

On a larger scale the United States Government found a way of utilizing and so merging the democratic capacities of these immigrant associations. After the first liberty loan campaign the son of an immigrant went to the Treasury Department and said that

the hand-plucking, buttonholing, personally embarrassing methods were not yielding anything like the possible results among the immigrants. He proposed that the thousands of immigrant societies be made agencies of the Liberty Loan Bureau. The suggestion was adopted. While the population related to these organizations is at the most 33 per cent of the people of the United States, the subsequent Liberty Loan Campaign secured between 40 and 50 per cent of their total subscribers through the foreign-language division.

Capacity for responsible collective decision and action is the direst need of the United States. Can immigrants again contribute to the generation of this capacity? Then in the interest of national unity and welfare this capacity must be appropriated, adopted and cherished as the earliest immigrant explorers would have seized the long sought fountain of the renewal of youth.

## Bohemians and Slovaks—Now Czechoslovaks

By JAROSLAV F. SMETANKA

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WAR made many changes in the life of Bohemian and Slovak immigrants in America. To start with, one hardly knows by what name to call them. The race from which they sprang is known as the Czechoslovak race and the land of their fathers is no longer a mere province of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, but the Czechoslovak Republic. This odd-looking name has by now become somewhat familiar to readers of American newspapers, but it has not supplanted in this country the names by which immigrants of that race have always been known,—they are still Bohemians or Slovaks.

The events in Europe have left a deep impression on the state of mind of the foreign-speaking groups here. Bohemians, and Slovaks even more, have acquired a feeling of dignity, self-confidence and assurance, now that they are members of a race which ranks with the independent races of the world. Men of Bohemian descent who formerly were almost unconscious of the fact that their roots were in Central Europe came forward in great numbers, manifesting an interest in the country from which their parents came, and those who were actually raised in what is now the Czechoslovak Republic follow eagerly the course of

developments there. Bohemian and Slovak papers in America give much more space nowadays to happenings in the old country than they were in the habit of doing before the war.

The war and the rise of the Czechoslovak Republic affected the life of the Czechoslovak immigrant in America in many ways. For one thing, there is now considerable contact between Bohemians and Slovaks here. Formerly, though they were closely akin and cherished theoretical feelings of friendship and brotherly love for each other, these two groups led separate lives.

It is a well-known fact that immigrant groups of different races have little contact with each other; each lives very much to itself, except in so far as its more progressive or better educated members enter into the general life of the community; but Germans in America do not mix with, let us say, Italians, or Croats with Roumanians. The Slavs have always professed to be closely related, but one Slav group in America has practically no contact with a different Slav group; that applied even to the relation of Bohemians to Slovaks. Bohemians had their own societies, fraternal, beneficial, gymnastic, social; they had their own halls and their own newspapers; and so did the Slovaks. During the war they came together, since both were interested in the same end; namely, the establishment of an independent state by the two kindred races—or one race with two dialects, whichever view of their relationship one may hold to be the true one. Now that their brothers across the ocean make up one household, one political and economic unity, represented in America by the Czechoslovak Legation and the Czechoslovak Consulate, the two immigrant groups find that their relationship is no longer a ques-

tion of theory, but a substantial fact. Thus their principal racial organizations are federated into the Czechoslovak National Council of America; both are interested in combating Magyar or German propaganda unfriendly to the Czechoslovak Republic; both collect money for the Czechoslovak Red Cross and other relief activities. The Slovaks, especially in Chicago, Cleveland and the western states, read Bohemian daily papers; they celebrate in common Czechoslovak Independence Day, and send speakers to each other's meetings.

In one respect the campaign for Czechoslovak independence, financed from this country, exerted a different influence on Bohemian life than on Slovak life in America. Before the war Bohemians in America were divided pretty sharply into two hostile camps. Nearly two-thirds called themselves "liberals" of "free-thinkers," while most of the rest were faithful Catholics. The Protestants were few. There were free-thinking death benefit societies and Catholic death benefit societies; liberal Sokols and Catholic Sokols; free-thinking social halls and church halls. Above all, Bohemian newspapers either adopted an anti-clerical tone, or they were strictly Catholic organs. When the great war came the liberals together with the Protestants, small in number but strong in able workers, took the lead in the campaign for the liberation of Bohemia. The Catholics at first limited themselves to collections for relief work, but in 1917 their principal organization, The National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics, joined the Bohemian National Alliance which up to then had financed, with some help from the Slovaks, Professor Masaryk's campaign.

During the war people in Bohemia could not make known their real senti-

ments owing to Austrian terrorism; it was realized by Bohemians outside of the Central Empires that they must present a united front, so as to demonstrate to the Allies that all Czechs, without regard to religion, were opposed to the German cause and to Austrian rule and wanted independence. Under those circumstances the barrier which had existed for decades between the two camps of Bohemians in America was finally overcome. Since 1917 liberals and Catholics, as well as the Protestants, joined in holding public meetings and demonstrations, conducting bazaars, making house to house collections, and in every way working together. This new spirit of coöperation survived the exigencies of the war. The two principal organizations still hold joint meetings and the old antipathy is little in evidence. Some efforts are being made to restore the old free-thinking movement with a view to keeping the freethinkers and those who are indifferent away from all contact with the Catholics; but the movement is not making much headway.

Among the Slovaks, the opposite has happened. About one-fifth of the Slovaks are Lutherans while the rest are Catholics. The anti-church or anti-religious spirit was never strong among them, and the Catholics and Protestants got along remarkably well together. During the war some complaint was made by those more zealous in the national cause that many Slovak Catholic priests favored the Magyars, instead of backing fully the national aspirations of their race. Only since the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic can one trace something like a split along religious lines among Slovaks in America. It is a reflex of political disputes in the old country, where some Catholic leaders took openly the side of the Magyars, while

the others established a Catholic political party, which has in its program wide autonomy for Slovakia within the Czechoslovak Republic. Unfortunately many Slovaks believe that the Catholic party does not really want autonomy, but separation from the Czechs.

In the United States the original organization which led the movement for Slovak liberation, the Slovak League of America, looks with suspicion on the more recent organization known as the Slovak Catholic Alliance, which backs the Catholic party in Slovakia. The league is still supported by many faithful Catholics, including some priests, but its main strength is among the Protestants and those indifferent to religious questions; while the Catholic Alliance is led by priests and composed of those who place more emphasis on religious rather than national considerations. This has been complicated further by the motive of rivalry between two strong organizations for greater influence, and as a result Slovaks in America are now as badly split as were the Bohemians before they got together during the war.

This brings us to another question that agitates the minds of Bohemians and Slovaks in America. The war gave rise to a number of powerful organizations which are still in existence now that their principal *raison d'être* is over. The Bohemian National Alliance was organized at the end of 1914 and before armistice came it had hundreds of local branches. Its total collections were considerably more than a million dollars. The Catholics organized themselves much later and the National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics was never as strong and never collected such large amounts as the older body. The Slovaks established their Slovak League some years before the

war, but it was a weak body and even during the first years of the war it did not exert as much influence over the Slovaks as did the Alliance over the Bohemians. By 1918 it grew to include the great mass of the Slovaks in America, Catholics as well as Protestants. There was during the war no separate Catholic organization of the Slovaks.

The purpose of these bodies was primarily to finance the campaign for Czechoslovak independence and to influence public opinion in America in favor of it. When independence was gained toward the end of the war, the organizations continued in existence; at first occupied principally in collecting funds for relief work, later in placing themselves gradually on a peace basis. The National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics found it easy to declare itself an organization watching over the interests of Bohemian Catholics in America and assisting the Catholic cause in Czechoslovakia. The Slovak league did not find it so easy to define the objects of its activity on behalf of Slovaks in this country; and as a matter of fact, its work since the Armistice has been to support various charities in Slovakia and partly to continue the fight against the Magyar propaganda, both in Slovakia and abroad. It is now engaged also in controversies with the Alliance of Slovak Catholics which was organized toward the end of the war on purely religious grounds, but which later attempted to supplant the League as the principal Slovak society. The Bohemian National Alliance of America, formerly the strongest of these organizations, has not been able so far to find fresh work and consequently has lost more ground than the other bodies.

When one considers what great transformations have been made by the war and the rise of an independent Cze-

choslovakia in the life of Bohemians and Slovaks in America, one would imagine that their attitude toward American problems would be greatly affected by influences emanating from the old country; but this is not so. Take for instance the matter of socialism. In the Czechoslovak Republic, where living conditions are still very unsatisfactory, socialists of various views, from very mild to radicals, secured almost one-half of the total vote for parliamentary representatives.

Among the Bohemians and Slovaks in the United States there has been no increase of socialist votes; in fact, the socialist groups undoubtedly lost in influence. In the late presidential election the only issue apparently was the League of Nations and the ratification of peace treaties. Now Czechoslovak's existence is based on the peace treaties. President Masaryk is known as a strong supporter of the League, and President Wilson is still very popular in Bohemia as a good friend of Czechoslovaks; yet all these facts had apparently no influence on the votes of Bohemians and Slovaks here. A feeble attempt was made by the democrats to gain votes among the Bohemians by appealing to these considerations, but on election day Bohemian wards in Chicago, Cleveland and New York, wards which are always democratic, went Republican. When it comes to American politics, Bohemians seem to be swayed by the same general influences that govern the public opinion of the nation as a whole.

Among the most pressing problems, applying equally to Bohemians and Slovaks in the United States, is the lack of new immigration since 1914. Before the war about 10,000 Bohemians and 25,000 Slovaks arrived at American ports annually; since the war began, this number has dwindled

down to a few hundred. Lately there have been some indications of a new wave of immigration, but so far emigration has greatly exceeded the number of newcomers. Since the Armistice more than 23,000 passports have been issued by Czechoslovak Consulates in the United States to Czechoslovak citizens returning to their homeland. That means about 35,000 persons. Of that number possibly 5,000 have come back to America, either because they changed their minds or because they were going only for a visit. Of the 30,000 net decrease, 90 per cent are Slovaks. Very recently large numbers of Slovaks, especially from eastern Slovakia are emigrating to the United States; and if there should be no new restrictions on immigration, the Slovak total in America would return to its former figure in a very few years. In the meantime both Bohemian and Slovak fraternal societies feel the lack of new blood. Old members are dying and their place is no longer taken up by fresh arrivals. Children of the members prefer to join American fraternal organizations or take out insurance in the regular insurance companies. All societies paying death

benefits are losing in membership and have to raise their dues.

The same situation is felt by Bohemian and Slovak papers. The loss of old subscribers is not made up by newly arrived immigrants. Many weaker papers had to suspend, while the stronger dailies still make money, because the country has had unusual prosperity until lately, and advertising was plentiful and remunerative. A period of depression with loss of advertising will be severely felt by practically all the Czechoslovak newspapers.

Like every other immigrant group Bohemians and Slovaks look with suspicion on Americanization. They fear that it may mean suppression of their newspapers, prohibition of public meetings or possibly even of lodge meetings in their own language, registration and regular reporting of those who are not American citizens, and various other measures that savor of force. An Americanization program, if it is to be successful and not defeat its purpose by rousing opposition, must not come to the foreigner as a series of repressive regulations, but as a gift offered in the spirit of American liberty and democracy.

## The Polish Group in the United States

By JULIAN KORSKI GROVE

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**T**HE people of the Vistula Valley began to emigrate to America about 1850, thirty years before their real exodus with the flood of the "New Immigration." The character of this first migratory movement was agricultural. The Polish immigrants settled in Karnes County, Texas, and Portage County, Wisconsin, which became centers of further Polish colonization. In 1870 large Polish farming settle-

ments existed in Michigan, Minnesota, Illinois, Nebraska and North Dakota. They are still existing and in good condition. A survey made in 1909 by Professor John Lee Coulter of the University of Minnesota, and published in *THE ANNALS*, contains this statement: "No class of citizens, whether immigrants or descended from immigrants half a dozen steps removed, could ask for greater material progress, better